

LABOUR MONTHLY

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WORKERS DECIDE

Andrew Rothstein

UNEMPLOYMENT

Joe Roots

THOUGHTS ON THE COMMON MARKET

Julius Silverman MP

BLACK LIBERATION IN THE US

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Geoffrey McDermott CMG
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Notes of the Month

THE WORKERS DECIDE

'No important innovation, no decisive measure has ever been carried out in this country without pressure from without. Either the opposition needed such pressure against the government, or the government needed it against the opposition. By pressure from without the Englishman means great, extra-parliamentary popular demonstrations, which naturally cannot be staged without the active participation of the working class.'
 KARL MARX, *A London Workers' Meeting*, January 28, 1862.

'The proletariat cannot be indifferent or unconcerned in regard to the political, social and cultural conditions of its struggle: consequently it cannot be indifferent to the destinies of its country either. But the destinies of its country interest it only *in so far* as they affect its class struggle, and not in virtue of some bourgeois "patriotism", quite indecent on the lips of a Social-Democrat.'

V. I. LENIN, *Belligerent Militarism*, August 5, 1908.

July 19, 1971

Since Marx wrote—at the time when the Government was trying to drag the British people into alliance with the American slave-owners, while the working class was deciding otherwise—the examples he gave have been reinforced by many others. The soldiers' strikes in January 1919, when the Government was trying to proceed from victory over Germany to full-scale war on Soviet Russia: the Councils of Action which stopped such a war in August 1920: the Invergordon Naval strike in 1931 against ferocious 'economy cuts' in pay and allowances: the unemployed marches of the thirties against similar cuts in benefit—on these and other occasions the workers have made their own 'corrections' in Government policy, even though they had to act from outside parliament. Similarly the efforts of the Tory Government in 1956 to arouse mass jingoism in support of its aggression (jointly with the French and Israeli Governments) against Egypt over the Suez Canal, and the attempts at first to involve Britain in the American war on the Vietnamese people, both foundered because at bottom the British working class saw the class interests of bondholders and colonial investors—not to say armaments profiteers—at work through the smoke screen of synthetic 'patriotism' which the Tories were seeking to inflame. At this time,

when the destinies of Britain hang upon the degree of pressure from without which British organised labour can bring to bear, and entry into the Common Market is being advocated by most Tories in the name of spurious patriotism, while some others support it in the name of 'internationalism' which rejects the class struggle, the words of Marx and Lenin have a particular meaning.

Opposition Tide Rises

Both Tories and many right-wing labour leaders have been surprised by the swelling tide of working class opinion, embodied primarily in the trade unions, which has said 'No to the Common Market!' It began with small minorities at first, voiced only by the *Morning Star* in the daily press and by a few individual Labour MPs; then, spreading in trade union branches and local parties, and supported by the weekly *Tribune*, it began to make itself felt in some trade union conferences; finally, in recent weeks, it has seen big majorities at the conferences of the larger unions—in transport, engineering, mining, printing and others. No one could doubt, even before the special Labour Party Conference met in London on July 17, that a very large majority against entry into the 'European Economic Community' would have been cast, had a card vote been taken. As always, the firm stand by organised labour drew unorganised public opinion behind it (contrary to the propaganda in the capitalist press about 'isolation' threatening the labour movement). For many weeks before the Conference, in fact, the newspapers' own political commentators, and those admitted to the BBC, were confessing that public opinion was against the Government on this question. This is the dominating fact in British politics today: it has had its visible influence on the attitude of numerous right-wing politicians, outside as well as inside the Labour Party: and it is all the more significant because of the flood of Government propaganda let loose through the BBC and most of the millionaire press.

More Burdens for the Workers

Of course there are some primary tangible things on which the broad public has already drawn its conclusions. Even the Tories conceded, after their massive defeats in the local elections this spring, that probably the chief reason was the disgust of the working class housewife—and her husband, and 'little people' of other classes—at the continuing rise in prices. But that rise has gone on: and even the Government spokesmen, even the White Paper they published on July 7, have not been able to deny that entry into the Common

Market (through the 'Common Agricultural Policy' it pursues) would bring *some* further rises. Even the Tories admitted in May, too, that growing unemployment played its part in alienating votes. But unemployment continues to grow—and the prospect of the drive (advocated in the White Paper) for 'improvements in efficiency and competitive power', *as Tory industrialists, politicians and economists understand them*, means in plain English still more unemployment in the name of rationalisation, and more bankruptcies of small businesses. Every cut in the social services—children's milk, school meals, rising council rents, the steady fall in council house building and the rest—has been defended by the Tory Government by the plea that economies are necessary, in the interest of the balance of payments. But what are ordinary people to expect, if the cost of entry into the Common Market proves to be anything like the £500 million in the first few years which economists of all shades expect—and about which the Government keeps silent in its White Paper? And of course there are other considerations, apart from these three, affecting the economy, like the interests of New Zealand and Australian meat imports to this country, of the exports of sugar by developing countries (on which the latter had to accept a 'moral commitment' because the British Government had accepted cuts in their exports already), unfettered movement of capital in and out of Britain, and so forth. However, these are but painful manifestations of the grand overall principle of the Common Market—promotion of the interests of monopoly capitalism.

What is the Common Market?

The six present members—the Federal Republic of West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg—are all countries in which monopoly capitalism, interwoven with the state, has reached a very high stage of development—comparable only with that of the US and Japan. They are all countries (with the exception of Luxemburg, a convenient centre for the other five in the financial sense) which either possess colonies or possessed them up to the second world war, and where there are large reserves of capital straining at the leash for more profitable investment. It is no accident that, at the sessions of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, where the ex-colonies, the socialist countries and the imperialist countries meet, the Six invariably join Britain and the US in voting against proposals to make inroads into their profit making capacity, which would help the impoverished 'developing countries'. In all six, except West Germany, the Governments are in the hands

of the parties of monopoly capitalism—of course giving themselves all kinds of fancy titles in which references to Christianity are prominent—while in West Germany the position of the Social-Democratic Government is very precarious. When, therefore, the White Paper talks of making ‘us and our European neighbours stronger to defend our own national interests’, what it means is the ‘national interests’ of the monopoly capitalists of the countries concerned. When it says that entry would ‘be making sure that British trade and manufacturing interests are represented at the summit of the negotiations where the terms on which we earn our living are decided’, what it means is that the great monopolies controlling British industry and commerce, and their Government, will be admitted to discussions with other similar monopolies in Western Europe—who ‘earn their living’, i.e. get their profits, *first and foremost out of the wealth created by the worker, and to some extent by sharing out markets among themselves*. Nobody in the labour movement who is not bereft of his senses can imagine that the Tories and the Confederation of British Industry are concerned about how the British working class ‘earns its living’—except to the extent that the British working class by its organisation and struggle imposes its will upon them. By what mystical transformation, then, do they become champions of the workers’ national interests by entering an organisation of other monopolists, represented by other reactionary parties, as like them as two peas? Would it not be more sensible, on the contrary, to treat entry as the device of British monopoly capitalism for reinforcing all West European capitalism against all comers—first and foremost, the working class of their respective countries, and likewise the demanding peoples of the former colonies (‘former’ politically, but not yet economically)?

The False Prospectus

Naturally, the case is not put in this ‘crude’ and ‘materialist’ way, as (say) Marx and Lenin put it—but also many English, Welsh and Scottish socialists have done. We are told in the White Paper, and by its advocates, about ‘security and prosperity’, of doing away with ‘barriers which divide Europe’, of a common ‘European heritage’, and other fine things. Harold Wilson (and many others) have already called it a false prospectus. And that is no novelty in Tory policy—not to go further back than Baldwin’s deliberate deceit of the electorate in 1935, in speaking of his Government’s devotion to ‘collective security’, i.e. co-operation with the USSR to preserve peace, when what he meant to do was to start massive rearmament and

use it to set Hitler going eastward, against the USSR. In 1970 they did it again. When the White Paper speaks of the Rome Treaty eliminating 'the barriers which divide Europe', it doesn't mean the barriers created in 1948-9 by Western European Union and Nato, which led to the formation of the Warsaw Pact—barriers which the socialist countries have, time and again, proposed to pull down on *both* sides. It doesn't mean the barriers which prevent the German Democratic Republic—the eighth largest industrial country in the world—from attending United Nations political and economic conferences, or even scientific and cultural assemblies. No, it means the tariff barriers between six (maybe seven) capitalist countries of *one* portion of Europe. For note that throughout the discussions, when people talk of the Common Market as 'Europe', they are repeating another item in the fraudulent prospectus. The White Paper itself claims 190 million people as the population of the Six—or getting on for 250 millions, if Britain made a seventh. But in the *real* Europe, as known to history and geography, there are 18 other larger countries, with a population (excluding Soviet territories in Asia) of 393 millions—as well as 10 smaller states. When the United Nations set up its Economic Commission for Europe, in 1947, it recognised these facts by admitting non-members of UN as well as members—although the disgraceful co-operation of the British Labour Government with the United States over the division of Germany, in 1948, has served ever since arbitrarily and illogically to exclude the German Democratic Republic. Many other smooth phrases in the White Paper, familiar to readers of company prospectuses, will similarly dissolve into something quite different if subjected to the corrosive action of socialist analysis.

Internationalism

The same, unfortunately, applies to a good deal of the argument used for months past in the labour movement to advocate British entry into the Common Market, and repeated at the special Labour Party Conference on July 17. Entry has been presented as an act of internationalism—'and aren't we socialists for internationalism?' Leaving aside the question of *how* 'international' is the Common Market, just discussed, some plain words are needed about internationalism as socialists have always understood it. When the International Working Men's Association—the first of its kind in history, composed primarily of trade unions in this and other countries, with a sprinkling of people who aimed at socialism, mainly but not exclusively followers of Marx—was set up in 1864, it

proclaimed its aims in this respect unambiguously. It spoke in its Inaugural Address of 'the great contest between the blind rule of the supply and demand laws which form the political economy of the middle class, and social production controlled by social foresight which forms the political economy of the working class' (by middle class at that time was meant the class between the workers and the landed aristocracy, i.e. the capitalists). Against the rule of 'the lords of land and the lords of capital', who used their political privileges to defend their economic monopolies, 'to conquer political power has become the great duty of the working classes'. But in their struggle 'common discomfiture' awaited them in all countries if they disregarded 'that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries'. The emancipation of labour—'the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinated'—was not a national but a social problem, 'embracing all countries in which modern society exists, *and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries*'. Ever since then, in all the various Internationals, the conception of internationalism has been bound up with that of 'the bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries'. Of course Britain has to trade with all countries, just as it has to enter into arrangements to preserve world health, regulate shipping, prevent pollution and so forth. But for socialists to advocate entry of British monopoly capitalism into a powerful organisation formed by the monopoly capitalists of six other countries in the name of 'internationalism' is not only to play with words, but to promote objects which are the very opposite of *working class* or socialist internationalism: though they may well suit the international aims of the Confederation of British Industry and its Tory Party.

Helping Socialism in Europe

But then comes the argument about 'joining with our socialist comrades in Europe'—and even that British entry would in some way promote the victory of socialism in the Western countries. Both these arguments ignore—as they must—the very essence of the Common Market. The victory of socialism in each country of Western Europe (as everywhere) depends on the determination and strength of the workers of that country. If the workers in the West European countries are still not in power—and even the Social-Democrats of West Germany cannot claim they are—what help do they get if British monopoly capitalism reinforces that of their own countries?

If anything, their struggle becomes more arduous, not less. One obvious way of joining with socialist—and other—comrades in Europe (not merely Western Europe) would be for British Labour and the British TUC to take up the struggle once again for a more effective international trade union movement, particularly for co-operation of the ICFTU with the WFTU. Not only would this make possible common action to defend the working class of all Europe—and elsewhere when necessary—against the action of the trans-national supertrusts, but it would promote greater unity of the divided trade union movements within the West European countries themselves, particularly in France and Italy. This would be a *real* ‘joining with our socialist comrades’, and a *genuine* contribution to the struggle for socialism in Britain as well as in those countries.

Common Market and Nato

There is however another and still more dangerous side to the campaign for British entry into the Common Market. It is no accident that the White Paper in its very first words begins with a reference to ‘security’; and throughout its many paragraphs there runs the idea that the Common Market is a bulwark of military security for the West European countries, i.e. for the countries of monopoly capitalism. In its course, this idea expresses itself in the most monstrous historical distortions or half truths. *‘Our security has been bound up with that of our European neighbours for over a thousand years.’* In fact, the coming to power of the British bourgeoisie, even as a junior partner to the landed aristocracy, was marked—from the mid-seventeenth century (in Cromwell’s day) to 1815—by wars, first against Holland, then against France, at bottom over colonies and trade openings. In the wars against Napoleon, against Imperial Germany (up to 1915) and against Hitler, British security involved co-operation with Russia, and later with the Soviet Union. *‘For the last 25 years the maintenance of our security . . . has been dependent upon the Western Alliance.’* In fact, Britain’s insecurity was due to the successive rejection of every Soviet offer of co-operation, and to the attempt instead to ‘roll back Communism’ from Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans. *‘Whatever the future holds, it is indubitable that our security and that of Western Europe will remain interlocked’*—which means rejection in advance of the opportunity to replace the Nato and Warsaw alliances by a European Security Treaty. Then, from talk of Europe (in the restrictive meaning already noted), the White Paper slips into an old cold-war reference

to 'the needs of our country, of Europe *and of the Free World*' (quoted by the White Paper from the Conservative Government's first application to the six, 1961)—which becomes later the declaration in favour of '*a wider European Community of Free Nations*'. 'Free nations', in Conservative language, means nations where monopoly capitalism is free. So it is not surprising that before long the White Paper speaks with deep appreciation of the United States' aim of '*Strengthening the Western Alliance*', i.e. Nato. Not a real relaxation of international tension, in other words, not substitution for regional alliances of a European mutual and collective security system—which the then Tory Government also sabotaged in the five years before the second world war—but the reinforcement of Nato by an economic counterpart, the Common Market extended to include Britain. That is the aim of the monopolies of Western Europe, and therefore of the Governments which they control. That is why the Tory Foreign Secretary seizes every possible opportunity for propaganda against peaceful co-existence—for example, his address at a seminar on the Common Market for Tory MPs and peers, in which he stated that 'there were bigger question marks hanging over the security and political future of Europe today than at any previous time. *There might be no immediate threat, but that was deceptive*' (*Times*, May 6, 1971). It is why Geoffrey Rippon, chief negotiator with the Common Market, told the Assembly of the West European Union in Paris on June 16 that Britain, once in the Market, could join in 'new and faster steps to create a common European defence system'—which, officials explained, would open the way for an Anglo-French nuclear force, later to be expanded. It is why Denis Healey speaking on the BBC on the evening of July 1 about affairs in Malta slipped into describing the Soviet Union as 'potential enemies'. And on the other hand it is why Harold Wilson was right, in his speech at the Labour Party Conference on July 17, when he gave the warning that Mr Heath's vision of Europe included 'a degree of defence integration that none of us (in this party) would accept'—particularly admitting West Germany to nuclear participation which would prevent 'any hope of a constructive reconciliation between Eastern and Western Europe'. *Pressure from without* needs to be redoubled in the coming weeks against that sinister prospect as well.

Americanism 1922

It would be wrong, in the historic debate about Britain's direct destiny now in progress, to overlook another issue which also affects

her vitally—and which, after an initial burst of publicity, the newspapers have forgotten. Nearly half a century ago W. T. Colyer—a socialist who came here after many years in the US—published his *Americanism: A World Menace* (Labour Publishing Company, 1922), in which he exposed the peril represented by what he called ‘Industrial Feudalism’ in the United States. Thanks to the headlong industrial development made possible because there were no relics of medieval feudalism as in Europe: thanks also to the worship of private enterprise and above all of the dollar, and to the consequent domination of all spheres of life by business interests, there had grown up a system of degradation of the intellect, of utter contempt for law, and of acceptance of violence where business interests were involved. Colyer illustrated these assertions with 150 pages of examples, particularly frequent in the history of the working class movement. He stressed the notable contrast of ‘lofty sentiments consorting with very ignoble practices’, and the pretensions to be ‘the great moral giant of history’ while reality was totally different. He remarked in particular that long experience had driven him to the view that ‘no merely verbal statements, even by an officer of the Federal Government appointed to furnish information upon matters within his jurisdiction, can be safely relied upon without verification in writing.’ Among the most striking of his examples was the ‘frame-up’, which he called ‘conspicuously American in character’ (again in connection with the working class: the sentences on Preston and Smith, of the Western Federation of Miners, in Nevada in 1907, on Mooney and Billings at San Francisco in 1917, and on Sacco and Vanzetti in Massachusetts in 1920). In a short chapter dealing with ‘Americanism and World Dominion’, Colyer gave remarkably apt instances of all these characteristics of what we should nowadays call United States state-monopoly capitalism or imperialism at work abroad—in the Philippines, in Haiti, in Cuba, in Mexico and in Nicaragua, above all in the ingenious operation by which, in 1903, the US framed up a ‘revolution’ in the Panama district of Colombia (the reader will find further details in our extract this month entitled ‘Fifty Years Ago’). In the Spanish-American war of 1898, he wrote, ‘the idealistic pretensions of the American Government were simply a cover for other motives connected with sugar plantations and colonial possessions. From that time on, the Americans have been grabbing whatever territory they considered it wise and safe to grab, with a ferocious disregard for the rights of others which is worthy of the British Empire at its worst.’ Yet Colyer found room, at the same time, to pay tribute to ‘the splendid fighting minority (in America) which has

risen superior to its environment, which holds aloft, despite the hostile armies of Americanism, the banner of internationalism; which in face of the most savagely unscrupulous employing class in the world, has never faltered in its loyalty to the cause of the toiling masses of all races and creeds; which has welcomed light and truth from whatever quarter, and has risked all that it possessed—goods, freedom, life—that others might share its vision.’

Americanism 1971

Irresistibly these recollections flood in today, on anyone politically active during and after the first world war—and had the book been written in 1971, the author would have found an incredibly abundant mass of new material, from the most unquestionable sources. For the Pentagon documents lately published by the *New York Times* and other American newspapers have broken all records in their revelation of the real motives of the brutal and bloody aggression of American imperialism in Vietnam, its cold-blooded sacrificing of both Vietnamese and American lives, its unprecedented perfidy in international policy, its monstrous lying to its own people—and its purposeful, cynical disguising of all these crimes by professions of honesty and nobility of purpose, in comparison with which Shakespeare’s Iago and Dickens’s Uriah Heep become mere apprentices at the game. Even the extracts published in the British press provide sufficient evidence of the story. And if, on the morrow of these revelations and as these lines are being written, President Nixon announces that he is going to Peking ‘within the next ten months’, the sensational news should not blot out in people’s minds (as is doubtless intended) the political crisis created by the disclosures—all the more because elections are not far off in the US, and dramatic ‘changes’ in policy have before now proved to be the opening gambit of a game very different from what the audience expected.

Sabotaging Geneva

Take the story of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China in July 1954, as it now appears. That Conference was called to end the war between France and the Vietnamese people, which began when Britain after 1945 helped the French to reoccupy the country, from which they had been driven by the Japanese. The Conference resolution on July 21, 1954, insisted that Vietnam was a single country, and that the military demarcation line which divided it was not ‘a political or territorial boundary’. It provided for unification through ‘free general elections by secret ballot’, under the supervision

of an International Commission, in July 1956, and for preparatory consultations between the authorities of the southern and northern zones from July 20, 1955, onwards. And it prohibited the introduction of additional foreign military personnel or armaments by either party, while other members of the Geneva Conference (i.e. the other Indo-Chinese countries, France, China, USSR, US and Britain) undertook 'to refrain from any interference in their (Vietnam's) internal affairs'. The United States Government refused to sign this resolution, but declared that it would 'refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb them', and would view violation of the agreement 'as seriously threatening international peace and security'. *The United States Government was however lying in its throat.* Already (we now know) President Eisenhower had, the previous January, approved a plan for war with China 'if necessary to prevent a French defeat in Vietnam'. Now, with that defeat manifest, the National Security Council called the Geneva agreement a 'disaster' and decided to take steps to build up a new South Vietnamese state. Instead of withdrawing its 'Military Advisory Group' of 200 (sent in to help the French in 1950), it began to increase the group—which by October 1961 had grown to 1,000. Simultaneously it agreed to its creature in the South, 'President' Ngo Dinh Diem, refusing to sign the Geneva Agreement, and in his later refusal (July 16 and August 9, 1955) to enter into consultations about free elections. While the Geneva Agreement had provided for no victimisation by either side, Diem from the very beginning—with the tacit assent of the Americans—began mass arrests and executions on a gigantic scale, reported by the International Supervisory Commission itself (for the period April-August, 1955). As a result of protests by the North Vietnam authorities, this situation became notorious: whereupon, in May 1961, Vice-President L. B. Johnson was sent to Saigon to pressurise Diem into making an 'appeal' to the US for troops—which he duly sent.

'Killing No Murder'

But already, in April that year, President Kennedy had decided to send more men and take more energetic action. On 11 May, 1961, he approved 'National Security Action Memorandum No. 52', under which (i) American agents were to be sent into North Vietnam, with supplies maintained by 'civilian mercenary air crews' (ii) a network of military bases and teams for 'light harassment' was to be established inside North Vietnam (iii) US planes were to keep up flights over that area dropping leaflets. Of course the Vietnamese

fought back—not only in the North but also in the South. By the autumn of 1963 there were 16,000 American ‘military advisers’ (authorised by Kennedy)—and in December that year Defence Secretary McNamara reported that plans for military operations were complete: 500,000 US troops were to be sent in. But now Diem had created such an intolerable situation by his policies that his own generals had begun plotting against him. They reported their plans on August 23 to the American Ambassador. President Kennedy telegraphed on October 5 that the latter should give ‘no active encouragement to the coup’ but make ‘urgent covert effort with closest security’ to keep contact with the conspirators—adding ‘Essential this effort be totally secure and fully deniable’! Sure enough, on November 1, the generals carried out their coup, and Diem was murdered. This did not save the Americans’ bacon. On December 21, *the same year*—seven weeks after their strong-arm man had been thus got rid of—McNamara was reporting to L. B. Johnson (now President, owing to Kennedy’s assassination) that ‘current trends, unless reversed in the next 2-3 months, will lead to neutralisation at best, and more likely to a Communist-controlled state’ (it may be remembered that President Eisenhower had declared, years before, that a free general election, as laid down at Geneva, would put the Communists in power throughout Vietnam). And so the United States Government decided on the next step—preparations for invasion.

Scenario for Invasion 1964

In February 1964, Johnson ordered the application of ‘Operation Plan 34a’, including (i) flights over North Vietnam by U2 (spy) planes (ii) kidnapping of North Vietnamese citizens for intelligence purposes (iii) parachuting sabotage teams into North Vietnam (iv) seaborne commando raids to blow up rail and highway bridges (v) bombardment of the North Vietnam coast by American patrol boats. This policy began to be energetically applied: and meanwhile, on April 17, 1964, the Joint US Chiefs of Staff approved Plan 37-64, making detailed arrangements for bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, if the policy of ‘34a’ led to the expected results. The anticipated developments over a period of 30 days, were set out, step by step, in what was cynically termed a ‘scenario’, worked out by Assistant Secretary of State William P. Bundy and leading up, through complaints of North Vietnam’s ‘aggression’, to full scale bombing. In fact, a ‘34a Force’ landed on North Vietnam islands on July 30: on August 2 an American destroyer, steaming along the coast of the Gulf of Tongking, was fired on: on August 3 there were

more attacks on North Vietnam territory: on August 4 the first destroyer, and another, were fired on: on August 5 a world-wide scream about 'unprovoked aggression' went up from the American capitalist press: and on August 7 Congress adopted a resolution, *already drafted on May 25 by Bundy*, repeating the lie that 'the Communist regime in North Vietnam' had 'engaged in aggression' and authorising the President 'to use all measures, including the commitment of armed forces'. What these measures were to be, had already been planned by a secret conference of top American politicians (including McNamara, Bundy and Ambassador Lodge from Saigon) and generals (including Maxwell Taylor, chairman of the Chiefs of Staff) at Honolulu on June 2: it included the sending of possibly seven divisions, and, in McNamara's opinion (supported by Admiral Harry Felt, commanding US armed forces in the Pacific), the possible use of atomic weapons 'at some stage'. At all events, large-scale bombing with 'conventional' weapons was now to begin—*after* the Presidential elections in November, for obvious reasons. Harold Wilson, visiting the US in December 1964, was informed of the decision. The large scale bombing in fact was unleashed—L. B. Johnson having been duly re-elected President—in February 1965: and with it there developed the massive use of US troops for which the final decision was taken in April 1965, by a conference presided over by President Johnson.

Aims and the Aftermath

These, of course, are only the bare outlines. The American purpose was set forth very compactly—but of course very secretly—by John T. McNaughton, Assistant Defence Secretary, in a memorandum in November 1964, i.e. *after* Johnson's re-election: '(a) To protect US reputation as a counter-subversion guarantor (b) To avoid domino effect especially in South-East Asia (c) To keep South Vietnamese territory from Red hands (d) To emerge from crisis without unacceptable taint from methods'. In other words, aggression in order to prevent other peoples—not only in Asia—deciding their own destiny. Needless to say, no such aims had been announced in Johnson's election campaign. Point (d)—the direct echo of President Kennedy's instructions of October 1963 to his agents in Saigon, that their machinations were to be 'totally secure and fully deniable'—is as instructive as any. 'Above all, try not to get caught,' was the spirit. But the taint has not escaped them after all. Naturally, President Nixon immediately began trying to wriggle out of his own responsibilities in the monstrous story. The chairman of his Republican

Party, Senator Dole, said (we learn from the *Times* Washington correspondent, June 21), that Democrats had launched the whole thing, and were making 'freedom of the press to publish' the issue, in order to hide their own 'early transgressions', i.e. the role of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. The Democrats' chairman, O'Brien, had the easiest job in the world to point out that Nixon, as Vice-President when the Republican Eisenhower was head of state, fully supported the launching of the great adventure. In fact, *before* Geneva he supported Dulles in suggesting the use of the atomic weapon in Vietnam: *after* Geneva, he supported Eisenhower in torpedoing the conference agreement. And in the light of these events, the revelation made by Harold Wilson, in the instalment of his memoirs published by the *Sunday Times* on May 16 this year—that, in February 1967, Johnson deliberately went back on his own proposals for bringing peace to Vietnam for which Wilson had secured agreement both in Moscow and, in principle, in Hanoi—is only an episode. What links it with the main story is that the 'decisive and disastrous' reversal of policy came through Johnson's adviser Walt Rostow—whom the Pentagon papers reveal as an out-and-out supporter of bombing, because (as he said in a memorandum to McNamara in November 1964) 'at this stage of history we are the greatest power in the world—if we behave like it' (an echo not only of Colyer's indictment, but of Hitler).

Holier British Imperialism—

As always in comparable cases, the British capitalist press at once took up a holier-than-thou and moralising attitude. The *Times* in one leading article (June 17) pointed out that, in May 1965, President Johnson said he knew of no plans to extend the war to North Vietnam, but 'the policy he was proclaiming was the reverse of the one he had approved . . . *All governments are deluded by their own hopes, but to go to war on a lie is a different matter.*' Two days later the *Telegraph* was writing that there had never been more cynicism in America about Government honesty: 'Some deception may be inevitable for good and worthy reasons, but some of this does not look like that.' On June 21 the *Times* returned to its homily, saying that United States policy statements had been 'farther from the truth than can reasonably be expected even by people hardened to the realities of international diplomacy'. And so on. You wouldn't think would you, that in 1945 the British armed forces co-operated with the French in violently re-establishing their military control in South Vietnam? Or that the British Labour Government had supported the

United States when it rejected *eight* appeals from Ho Chi Minh, in 1945-46, to bring some restraints to bear on the French policy of fire and sword against the Vietnamese people (no 'South Vietnam' then)? Or that, so far from protesting against the American policy over the Geneva Conference, the Labour Government joined the Americans, in September 1954, in setting up Seato—the 'South-East Asia Treaty Organisation'—which was intended 'to shore up the situation', because (in American opinion) 'the chances of setting up a strong anti-Communist regime in Vietnam were poor'? No, you wouldn't—unless you had read *Labour Monthly* at the time. Equally, you wouldn't have thought that, immediately the sea and air provocation of August 1964 took place, the then Foreign Secretary (R. A. Butler) said on TV that the American warships had been 'gratuitously attacked', and had the right to defend themselves—or that a statement had been issued from 10 Downing Street, solemnly explaining that the right of self-defence was recognised by Article 51 of the United Nations Charter! (Some old hands, it is true, recalled how the Hitlerite pocket battleship *Deutschland* had bombarded the open town of Almeria in May 1937, during the Spanish Civil War, on the plea of having been 'attacked' by Republican planes.)

—But it Backed America!

Similarly, the Pentagon papers show Harold Wilson, on June 3, 1965, while warning Johnson that the British (Labour) Government must dissociate itself from his policy of bombing near Hanoi and Haiphong, nevertheless telling the President that this would not 'affect our continuing support for your policy over Vietnam as you and your people have made it clear'. It may be argued that both Tory and Labour leaders were deceived, and knew no more than the American public about what the United States political and military leaders were up to. The real answer to that would come if Downing Street papers, including diplomatic and intelligence reports from Washington and Saigon, now became as available to scrutiny as the Pentagon papers. But isn't it curious that a large body of opinion in this and other countries—including *Labour Monthly*—never did believe the American leaders' professions, always found that they were lying, denounced their war on Vietnam from the first? And, come to that: Harold Wilson himself, *after* two experiences of American double-crossing over peace in Vietnam in 1966 and 1967, and *after* Kosygin, during Wilson's visit to Moscow in February 1968, had told him his opinion of American hints that they had 'contacts' in Hanoi discussing peace—that they were lying—replied to the Soviet

Prime Minister that 'I knew the President as well as I knew most people, and I was absolutely convinced he was sincere.'

'Our Own Right Hands . . .'

What lessons must we draw from these unparalleled disclosures? Not, surely, that American imperialism is worse than British imperialism (the British Government's record during intervention in Russia in 1917-1920 provides parallels *in every respect* with that of the US in Vietnam, as the documents of that period show)—only that it has even greater opportunities for aggression today than British imperialism had a century ago, at the utmost height of its power. But of course this is not the fundamental question. The fundamental question is that the world is still divided, right across the map, into a group of socialist states, among whom by far the most powerful and decisive in political influence is the Soviet Union; a large group of developing countries, all of them politically ex-colonies or semi-colonies or still actual colonies—and all of them economically so weak as to be a constant object of greedy interest for monopoly capitalism; and a small group of imperialist states, differing in strength but constantly uniting where threats to their exploiting possibilities are concerned. And this is a class division. To talk of internationalism, or sovereignty, or aggression, or self-determination in such a world, without reference to its fundamental class structure and the struggles that that structure involves, is to perpetuate delusion, untie the hands of the imperialists and sow ever new disasters. It may be that President Nixon's decision to go to Peking was prompted by realisation, at long last, that even the United States bit off more than it could chew when it entered and extended its war on socialism in Vietnam. It may be that he was prompted by considerations of the 1972 elections: after all even Tory Prime Ministers in Britain have been known to go to Moscow when an election was looming, without the least intention of really changing their policies. It may be that he saw before him the will o' the wisp of profiting by Chinese-Soviet differences. What is certain is that in Vietnam his armies have come up against a people led by a ruling working class, organised for battle as well as for building socialism by their Communist Party: that the Vietnam people have been supported in their struggle by the group of socialist states, once again representing the power of working classes organised as ruling classes: that in the United States, an immense popular upsurge of disgust at the war, extending into the army itself, has revived the best traditions of struggle against 'the tyranny of elected persons' of which

Walt Whitman wrote and to which Colyer paid his moving tribute in 1922: and that this movement has found growing support in other countries—in Britain, above all, in the labour movement. British labour can draw this lesson with confidence when it rallies the nation against entry into the Common Market, or for a European Security Conference and a five power nuclear summit, or against the Tory Industrial Relations and Immigration Bills—and for world working class unity against imperialism.

Andrew Rothstein

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THOUGHTS ON THE COMMON MARKET

Julius Silverman MP

SPEAKING to many people in all walks of life, I find that they generally feel that they are being railroaded into the Common Market, and that they will have no choice in the decision. The overwhelming majority of the press is for Britain's entry. The Government has clearly made up its mind to go in irrespective of the economic or any other arguments.

Most people do not know what entry will mean, but they are vaguely apprehensive. They expect that prices on entry will increase still more rapidly. In most cases, they realise, even if they cannot articulate it, that Britain will lose a large part of her sovereignty and that decisions on economics, industry, finance and taxation, now made by the British parliament, will be made elsewhere and, whilst they distrust the present British Tory Government, they distrust the Men in Brussels even more.

A White Paper has been issued which puts only one side of the case. All the economic problems posed by our entry into the European Economic Community (EEC) are swept under the carpet, and the future in Europe is portrayed in glowing and rosy terms. In all my experience in parliament, I have never seen a white paper so completely unbalanced and one-sided in its presentation. It is half-way between an evangelist treatise and a political tract. It completely fails in objectivity and information. The 'Short Version', given free in HM Post Offices, is even worse and still more selective. There has been a request that the other side of the case should be put by anti-marketeers, in a tract also distributed in the Post Offices. However, the Government has resisted this. This then is 'The Great Debate'. The public will hear one side only; the other side will be suppressed.

The greatest piece of humbug which you will find in the 'Short Version' is the picture representative of the rise of incomes in the EEC countries and Britain, showing how, and how much more rapidly, wages have risen in all these countries than in Britain. The object is to persuade you that if only Britain enters the EEC your income will rise also much faster than it is now doing. Who would believe from this passage that this Government's basic economic strategy has been to keep your wages down, with the object, so it says, of preventing inflation at home and ensuring our competitive

position abroad? Indeed there has been no other positive feature of economic policy in the Government's policy.

As a socialist I do not like the Common Market anyhow. It is organised and intended to prevent the advancement of socialism in any of its constituent countries. This indeed has been clearly stated by at any rate some of the Tory pro-marketeers. State intervention to control currency or the flow of capital from a country is discouraged and prohibited. So is the control of investment. There is planning, yes!, but the major object of planners in Brussels is to promote free competition among the constituent countries and to keep other competitors out. This applies both to industry and agriculture.

The rules of the Treaty of Rome are the Marquis of Queensbury rules for the conduct of competitive capitalism. They have nothing in common with the rules of a planned society, still less a socialist society. Unlike the European Free Trade Area, the Common Market is divisive. It creates, and is intended to create, another world bloc which at some time in the future may have a common military policy, and perhaps with nuclear weapons at its disposal. Many of us regard such a prospect with the greatest anxiety, and we do not know what talks have gone on behind the scenes for pooling our military technology in military weapons. The division of the world into great military and economic blocs cannot be conducive to peace.

Some socialists are attracted to the idea of the EEC because of its alleged internationalism. However, the internationalism which the labour movement has fought for is not the internationalism of the great international cartels, far less the division of the world into great military blocs.

However the immediate problem which this country will have to face, if it goes in, will be the economic consequences and especially the effect upon our balance of payments position. Our balance of payments deficiency has dominated our economic situation for many years past. It has inhibited our growth. In order to meet the situation, successive Chancellors have imposed harsh burdens upon the people of this country. In economic terms it is by far the most important point that we have to consider. What does the White Paper say about this? Almost nothing. It tells of great opportunities for selling goods in Europe. No doubt we will sell more goods in the EEC countries—how much more is difficult to tell—but then the Common Market countries will also sell more in this country. What will be the balance? The White Paper does not discuss this at all. It is probable that

British industry will lose as much to its competitors in the EEC as we will gain by increased sales there. How much will we lose by the demolition of the free trade area in EFTA? How much will we lose in our trade with the Commonwealth?

I might mention, whilst I am discussing the Commonwealth, that the Commonwealth has little chance of surviving our entry into the EEC. The Government's policy on immigration has already assimilated the position of Commonwealth citizens to that of aliens. If we enter the Common Market the Europeans, with free right of access to this country, will be in a stronger position than the Commonwealth citizens. When you add to this the demolition of the Commonwealth preferences, it will not only mean a substantial loss in our trade, but also inevitably the end of the Commonwealth in a short historical period.

There is then our contribution to the EEC Fund. The Government estimates that by 1977 this will amount to £200,000,000. Even if this low estimate is correct, this is a considerable drain on our balance of payments position. It is estimated by a number of economists that over a few years our balance of payments will suffer to the extent of £500,000,000 per year and the government then in power will have to take action, either by way of a devaluation, or another round of extremely heavy taxation.

In economic terms I cannot see the sense of going in. The people of this country have yet the right of speaking before the final decision is taken next October. We will certainly press that they should be consulted either by a referendum or better still by an election.

LABOUR MONTHLY

FIFTY YEARS AGO

On November 4, 1903, Panama revolted from its motherland, Colombia, and declared itself a free and independent state. On November 13—nine days later—its independence was 'recognised' by the Government of the United States. And on November 18—just a fortnight after Panama's declaration of independence—a treaty was signed by the United States and the Republic of Panama, by which the Canal zone (i.e. five miles of territory on each side of the Canal) was leased to the United States for ever and ever, and the sum of \$10,000,000 paid to Panama. Other countries promptly followed the United States' lead in recognising the new state; and both territory and 'compensation' were lost to Colombia. An interesting little chapter of international history, especially when read alongside of that later chapter which tells of the endless delays, postponements, refusals, attending the negotiations for the recognition of the Soviet Republic of Russia. There were, indeed, rude people who went so far as to hint that the American Government 'promoted' the Panama rebellion. But President Roosevelt positively denied this; and who—but a German—would doubt the word of an American President?

(From 'An Incident of Canal Construction', by J. F. Horrabin,
Labour Monthly, August 1921)

UNEMPLOYMENT

Joe Roots*

IN the thirties the usual greeting exchanged between workers, certainly building workers, was 'Doing anything mate?' or 'Where you doing it?' or simply 'Working?'. Many a tale has been told of cycling behind a lorry carrying bricks in order to locate its destination with a view to getting employment. And such employment in those days could be very uncertain, lasting hours, or days, or weeks, dependent not only on one's capacity and fitness for a day's work strictly according to the clock, but not least on the temper of the foreman and 'the colour of your eyes'. Unemployment as a permanent feature of life was not only a measure of the sickness of society but accentuated and perpetuated all its worst evils: poverty, ill-health, bad housing, poor educational opportunities and above all demoralisation.

Out of these conditions, and the fight against them, grew and strengthened the determination of trade unionists to put the threat of unemployment in the dustbin of history and ensure the right of every man to work. Full employment and intermittent booms since the war led to the illusion that this had been achieved. We were only too ready to take satisfaction in the fact that most men and women could work; that young people could get married in hope; that a choice of jobs and careers could be made by school-leavers; and that veteran workers, for the first time in our history, could expect to retire in reasonable health with the expectation of enjoying a few years rest.

But forty years on 1971 is here and, while we have been anxiously watching through the years the struggle of the Vietnamese against the American invaders, unemployment has insidiously crept up on us again, the product of capitalist policy linked to the economy of our American 'benefactors'. At first it was only a statistic, a percentage, a reservoir of labour to keep the economy running smoothly; but now the enormity of it should frighten us into urgent action. Eight hundred thousand registered unemployed, or two-and-a-half million men and women and children expressed in family terms. Are we to permit the ranks of the under-privileged to be swollen by the addition of more and more children who, in the most desperate cases, are the most vulnerable and the most defenceless?

But not 'Their' children mark you, never their's, the upper ten per

* Prior to his union's merger on July 1, 1971, with the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, Joe Roots was a Divisional Secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers.

cent who own ninety per cent of the country's wealth: they are for ever removed and protected from the clutch of the cold hand of poverty. It is time we shared the load and shared the wealth. It is time children were removed from the centre of the arena of the class struggle. It is time we won the class struggle and began to control the economy along socialist lines for the benefit of all who are prepared to co-operate.

And there will be new faces among those who will co-operate, for this time the changes in industry coupled with the ruthless policy of the Tory Government have cut deep into the ranks of professional, technical and managerial workers whose prospects can be extremely difficult in a capitalist economy stagnating into depression under a Tory Government. These men and women are new allies in the struggle who must be helped to see more clearly the need for a fundamental change in our management of society. And we must drive home the point that our present situation is the direct outcome of Tory Government policy which has been determined, ever since their return to power, to halt and turn back the trade union advance of recent years, to upset the gains made during that period, and weaken the bargaining power of the trade unions on the wages front.

All the negative aspects of unemployment, evil and heart-rending as they can be, hardly compare with the crime perpetrated in rendering so many hands idle and unproductive, whose loss to the economy is reckoned to be of the value of £5,000 million a year. Numbered among them are 140,000 of our construction workers who, using new techniques and greater machine power, could be geared to the programme of building 500,000 houses a year for rent, along with other urgent social and industrial building required. But instead we are tolerating the increased homelessness of people so desperate as to occupy derelict buildings, whilst building workers stand idle—and, as the TUC showed in a recent analysis, it is not only the old 'uns who are being made redundant: 79,000 are young men between the ages of twenty and twenty-four.

One of the greatest curses of unemployment can be that it not only restores the balance of bargaining power to the employers but it puts back in their hands the power of selection, of discrimination, and the whip of intensified exploitation. And we have men and women now, in our multiracial society, who can become victims of the many pressures unscrupulous employers will exert. For them, and for all of us, we need action by the trade unions and the labour movement, to show the employers and their Government that we are going to resist the economic decline and persuade a new Government to set about a

change of economic policy and international relationships, which will accord with the policy and demands of many union conferences.

To this end one welcomes the move made by the Transport and General Workers' Union calling upon the TUC to organise a national demonstration to protest against growing unemployment, and the decision made by the TUC to organise regional demonstrations, culminating in a national lobby of parliament in the autumn. Here lies the path of advance if other unions by their activity will strengthen this lead and make plain that this time employed and unemployed members are not going to be divided and that they are going to forge greater unity in the achievement of a policy of full employment. This

(continued on page 362)

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS

Since the publication of the second selection of Golden Jubilee greetings in our July issue, further messages have been received from the following.

WOLF EHRLICH AND E. TOUMA
Editors of *Zo Haderekh (Our Path)*,
Tel Aviv:

'We greatly admire your principled adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, class consciousness and proletarian internationalism in selecting and publishing material, combined with interesting contributions from many progressive publicists, expressing the broad front of possible co-operation of democratic forces in matters concerning the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.'

MIROSLAV MOC
Editor of *Rude Pravo*, Prague:

'On the occasion of the seventy-fifth birthday of R. Palme Dutt and the anniversary of the foundation of *Labour Monthly*, the Editorial Board of *Rude Pravo* sends you wishes for many further creative successes in your work and in our common international struggle.'

The Editorial
Board of *Novo Vreme*, Sofia

STEFAN VOICU

Editor of *Lupta de Clasa (Class Struggle)*, Bucharest, and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Romania:

'On celebrating half-a-century of *Labour Monthly* we convey to R. Palme Dutt and to the whole staff warmest congratulations and wishes for new successes in the activity of promoting the interests of the working class in Great Britain, the cause of peace, democracy, social progress and international co-operation.'

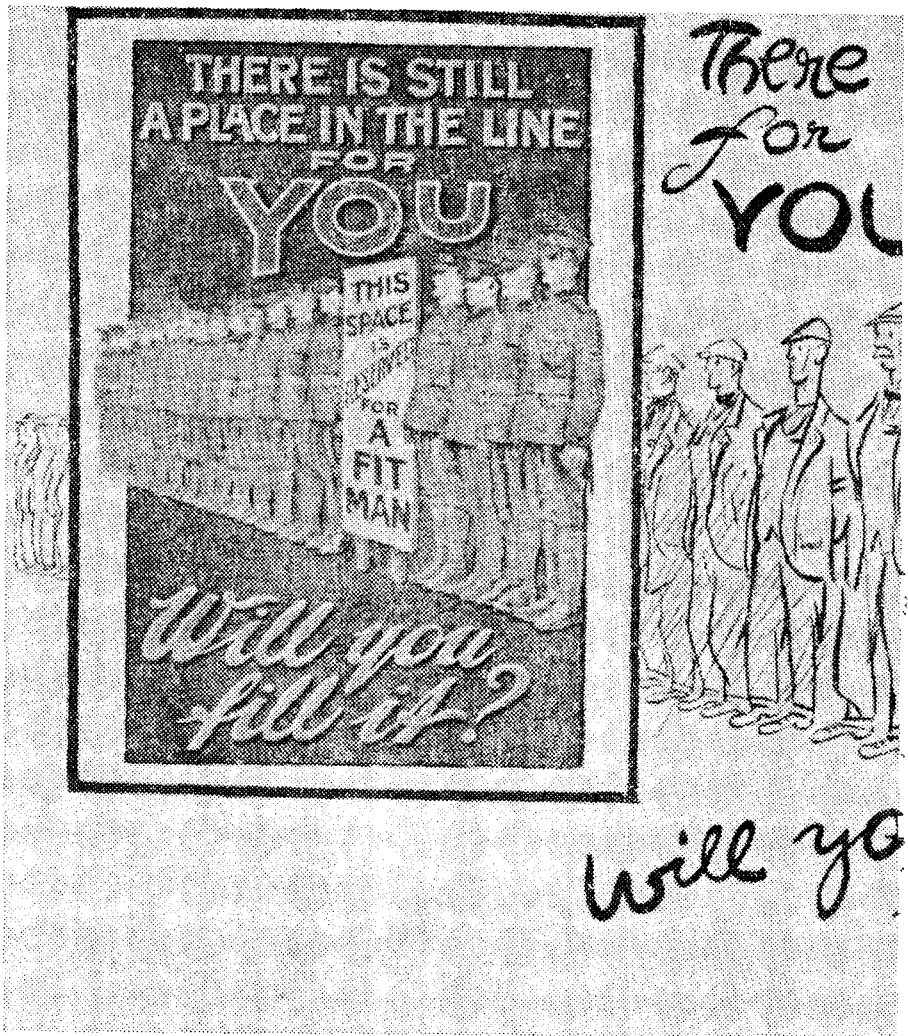
MICHAEL O'RIORDAN
Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland:

'Please convey my best greetings to Comrade Palme Dutt, and my appreciation of the great international contribution he has made, and continues to make, through *Labour Monthly*. Congratulations to you all on its fiftieth anniversary.'

The Editorial Board of *International Affairs*, Moscow

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

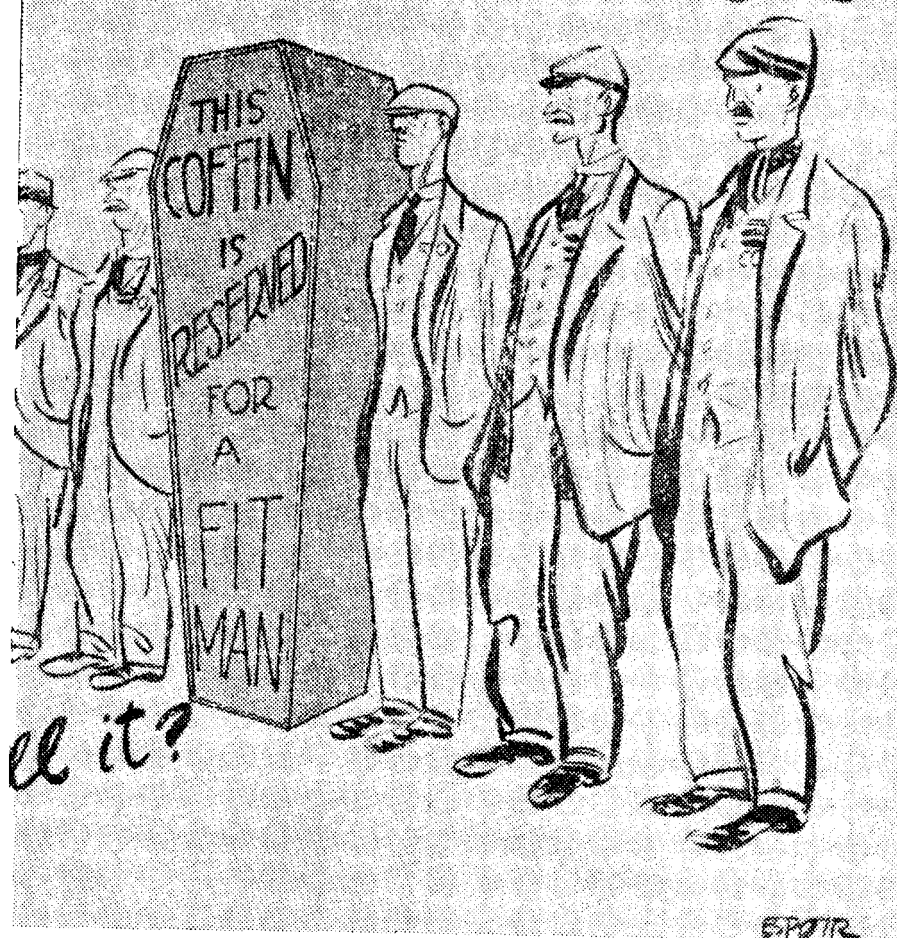
Radio Berlin International



1914 .

By autumn 1921 the generation which had volunteered in their scores

Still a Place in the Line



1921

(Reproduced from *The Communist*, October 15, 1921)

Thousands in 1914 to fight 'For King and Country' were lining up for the dole.

(continued from page 359)

is a beginning, but what is needed is a major campaign which involves the whole of the trade union movement, and particularly the trades councils and federations. The demand must be raised for the ending of sackings and the provision of alternative work at comparable rates and conditions.

Meantime, the trade unions must ensure that their unemployed members are able to maintain membership, are protected and advised about their rights whilst unemployed, and that urgent policy decisions are taken with regard to overtime, productivity agreements, the shorter working week and holidays. Measures must also be taken to safeguard the position of apprentices so far as the completion of their training is concerned and the creation of the opportunity for alternative employment.

But the overall fight must be strengthened to force the Tory Government to an election to answer for their policy. They have taken no pains to hide the class character of their attack upon the workers, and have banked on misleading some by the weight of their onslaught on the unions and the alleged inflationary effect of wage demands.

It is now evident to most people that effective trade union wage demands cannot keep pace with the inflationary rise of prices and that our only solution is the adoption of a policy which is a complete reversal of Tory Government and past Labour Government policy. That is: instead of wage restraint, wage increases; instead of price increase, peg prices; instead of economic stagnation, expansion; instead of £275 million military spending overseas, cut it by half; instead of £735 million capital investment overseas, invest it here; instead of the City of London being the world's banker, extend nationalisation; instead of director control, bring in shop-floor participation in management. In short, remove the obstacles to expansion, insulate the economy from the manoeuvres of gamblers in sterling, and provide the capital for investment by getting our priorities right.

The reaction of the Upper Clydeside workers and the rest of the West of Scotland to the threat to close down the shipyards is a fore-taste of the storm of working class unity and resentment which is going to hit the Tory Government and which will only subside when the threat to all our futures is removed by a Government subject to working class pressure, to make a start on the socialist road. Unity in action is the need of the hour as always. We may glory in a second 'Revolt on the Clyde' but it will not be sufficient to overcome this lot unless we set the Thames on fire as well—at the same time.

European Security and the GDR

1. IT'S HIGH TIME WE RECOGNISED THE GDR

Geoffrey McDermott CMG

Chairman, Committee for the Recognition of
the German Democratic Republic

‘RECOGNITION must and will come in due course,’ said a *Times* leader on June 10 referring to a letter on the same page from the Committee for the Recognition of the German Democratic Republic. This truth, however, was admitted only after a deal of heart-searching; Britain, we were told, had less reason to rock the boat now than in the past. A cautious comment, in the very best tradition of Printing House Square. And one with which I, as a signatory of that letter, sharply disagree. Because it implies more procrastination in a matter that affects us all: nothing less than settlement of a lasting peace in Europe.

Nearly 22 years of denigration and official ostracism in the West—not to mention sundry cloak-and-dagger escapades—have failed to weaken the GDR. On the contrary, she is stronger now than ever before. Consider what an *American*, Herman Kahn—noted statistician and adviser to the US Government—has said in his book *The Year 2,000*. His forecast is that the GDR will be one of the first states in the world to achieve a per capita gross national product equivalent to America’s in 1968. From economic growth trends this expert (director of the US Hudson Institute) has concluded that by 1982 the Republic will have overtaken on that basis France, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand. Kahn notes that this projection assumes there will be no major changes in the global picture.

We must assume there will be no great conflagration in Europe. The super powers are unlikely to risk war over Germany, and it has been rightly said that continentals sleep more soundly in their beds knowing that their giant and historically troublesome neighbour is split in two. They recall to their cost that whenever the widely dissimilar Germans have been united (as under the Kaiser and Hitler) everyone has suffered—not least the Germans themselves. Does anyone in his right mind want to turn the clock back a quarter of a century? Let us at last face reality and admit that—like the People’s Republic of China—the GDR is here to stay.

Sooner or later we have to realise that international law rests on three principles: the formal acknowledgment by states of (1) each other's existence and integrity; (2) each other's independence; and (3) the equality of all independent states. The German Democratic Republic was founded as a fully-independent state on October 7, 1949, following the establishment of the West German Federal Republic in the previous month, which had destroyed the unity of Germany. We should remember that the Potsdam Agreement of 1945, signed by the US, the USSR and the UK (with France adhering later) stipulated the extirpation of German militarism and Nazism so that Germany should never again threaten its neighbours or the peace of the world, and that it should be treated 'as a single economic unit'. This, nonetheless, did not deter the Western powers from making a first division—the formation of the 'bi-zone'—as early as December 1946. Subsequently the economic and state structure of Germany was torn up by the separate currency reform in the Western Zones (June 1948), the birth of the Federal Republic and its later incorporation into Nato.

Since its foundation the GDR has been formally recognised not only by its allies in the Warsaw Pact—the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Romania—and the socialist states of Albania, Chile, Cuba, China, Mongolia, North Korea, North Vietnam and Yugoslavia, but by 15 other governments as well. In fact, altogether some 30 countries have full diplomatic relations with her. Fifteen more have links at consulate general level.

The present position, in which 45 of the world's countries find it worthwhile to have these official dealings with the Republic, has developed gradually, and despite Bonn's old claim that it alone had the right to represent the German people abroad. For a very long time West Germany threatened to invoke economic sanctions against lesser states considering recognition; indeed it even refused diplomatic relations with any country (the USSR excepted) which dared to recognise the GDR. Only when this odious 'Hallstein doctrine' has seemed to be working against her own interests has West Germany dropped it. For instance she found it expedient to open diplomatic relations with Romania in 1967 although well aware of friendly ties between Bucharest and East Berlin. Believing that time is on her side, the GDR also maintains trade representations of various kinds in capitals from South America to Scandinavia, Africa and the Mediterranean. France, Belgium, Austria, the Netherlands, Italy and, of course, Great Britain, are among the European countries doing two-way business on this lower level.

The possibilities for us in this limited sort of commerce are be-devilled by red tape and other hindrances, such as delay in granting visas for GDR citizens who want to come over here. In 1970 the figure for mutual Anglo-GDR trade was no more than £33 million, with the breakdown marginally in Britain's favour. Potentially, as the London Chamber of Commerce has stated, it could reach as much as £100 million per annum within the present three-year agreement.

But the East Germans take the view that nothing spectacular can happen without a longer-term pact giving stability to the export industries in their carefully-planned economy. What they really need, I suppose, is the sort of continuity in trading which they have with the USSR, and which they can relate logically to their five year plans.

And here is the snag. Herr Rudolf Murgott, president of the Kammer für Aussenhandel (Chamber of Foreign Trade), reiterated to journalists in London recently: 'Only governments can guarantee such a relationship.' He pointed out that the KFA, while promoting good contacts (his seven-man mission met nearly 30 of our top companies), was not a body which could approach official or government authorities. Thus we have the paradox, that while some of Britain's biggest exporters find a valuable customer in the Republic their men are on their own when they go to East Berlin without the backing or moral support which a British embassy could give them. At the time of writing we have not so much as a commercial office there, unlike the realistic French and Austrians.

We seem, indeed, to be cutting off our nose to spite our face. The 17 million citizens of the GDR, without Marshall Aid and despite payment of heavy war reparations to Russia, have transformed their country from a vast heap of ruins into the eighth most powerful industrial nation. They have a vested interest in peace, security and bigger trade with the rest of the world. How difficult it is for some of our people to grasp this! From the ivory towers of Oxford one writer to the *Times* objected recently that no one had applied moral criteria to the question of recognition. I do not know his concept of morality, but in my own diplomatic career I quickly learned that it is counter-productive to lecture foreigners from the standpoint of some insular British 'morality'.

I firmly believe it is in our interests, and those of Europe as a whole, to draw on the lessons of history. It is high time for Great Britain to realise that common sense has been shown by the 30 or so governments which have ambassadors in East Berlin—and, in consultation with Bonn, Washington and Paris, to follow their example.

2. EUROPEAN SECURITY

Gordon Schaffer

IN June of this year, a group of Belgians, representing virtually every section of progressive opinion and including many of their best known public figures, convened a meeting in Brussels to consider how best to mobilise public opinion behind the demand for a conference on European Security. Representatives attended from most European countries and it was decided to study the possibilities of calling an all-European conference of the people next year, in order to unite all the popular forces of our continent in the effort, not only to press for a conference of European states, but to discuss concrete ways of solving outstanding problems and providing the basis for disarmament, security and co-operation.

The discussions inevitably followed much the same course as earlier meetings on the same theme, held in Stockholm, Vienna, Berlin and Budapest, but they also provided clear evidence that the governments still resisting the proposal are becoming more and more isolated. And the British Government is exposed as one of the main obstacles.

Successive British Governments have paid lip-service to the idea of disengagement in Europe with various plans for reduction in military forces, nuclear free zones and so on. But, in fact, they have had no policy except to pile up nuclear weapons and to accept a situation, where, by provocation, accident or design, the balance of nuclear terror could be turned into a universal holocaust. Alec Douglas Home said it in December 1961, when, according to several British papers, he told the Nato Council that the British people were prepared to be reduced to atomic dust rather than give way on West Berlin. The same policy is enshrined in the Nato 'use nuclear weapons first' policy agreed between Denis Healey and the Strauss-Kiesinger Government of the German Federal Republic, and set out in a British defence white paper. It is called by the military gentlemen: 'Making the deterrent credible'. It means suicide.

During the period of the Labour Government and since the Tories took over, resolutions calling for support for a European security conference have been met with the stock Foreign Office reply that the question of West Berlin must first be settled. Earlier, the reply was that participation of the US and Canada must be agreed and the

agenda must be prepared. These two last points were accepted by more than 20 European countries in West and East, who had declared in favour of the conference, so now we are left with West Berlin. The real issue, of course, is not West Berlin; it is recognition of the German Democratic Republic.

West Berlin cannot live without communications with the surrounding territory of the GDR, and this applies, not just to access routes, but to water, electricity, sewage disposal and to the supply of a good proportion of its food. No one disputes its right to exist as an independent entity with its own social and economic system, with free communications and its own economic links with the West. What is denied is the claim that it is part of the Federal Republic, and the right of Western agencies to use it as a centre for espionage and sabotage against the GDR and other socialist countries. Once the GDR is recognised, and the true position of West Berlin accepted, there will be no obstacles to agreement.

Agreement on these lines would mean that the changed situation resulting from the war against Nazism had at last been accepted and the way would be open to create a Europe genuinely based on peaceful co-existence. But it would also mean abandoning the Dulles plan to restore capitalism in the countries of Eastern Europe, and the acceptance of the fact that the two German states have irrevocably taken different paths. In the future, one hopes that their co-operation will develop, that they will be conscious of their common cultural heritage, but they will continue as independent sovereign states. And they must take their places as equals at the conference table and in the United Nations.

This issue is fundamental if there is to be any real progress towards peace in Europe. It was stated clearly by Mr Brezhnev in his speech in June to the Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of the GDR. 'It is clear to everyone now,' he said, 'that it is inconceivable to hold an all-European conference without the equal participation of the GDR.'

Why, in face of the obvious facts, do the Western powers and in particular Britain, refuse to clear the way to a European conference by recognising the GDR? One answer is that there are still powerful forces which refuse to accept the realities of the European situation. They were much happier dealing with Kiesinger and Strauss than Willy Brandt. Strauss, who has virtually absorbed the neo-Nazi groups into his own party, has made his policy as clear as Hitler did in *Mein Kampf*. In his book, *The Grand Design* (1965), he set out his plan for the incorporation of all Germany in the Western alliance and

added that the other countries of Eastern Europe would not be *immediately* absorbed in the European federation. And what was to be Britain's role? Again Strauss did not mince his words:

For the next few years we must concentrate on a federation of the Six. During this period, Britain must be encouraged to enter the Common Market. I have a distinct feeling there is a renaissance of European feeling in the United Kingdom, both in the Labour and Conservative Parties. We must establish the basis of a European nuclear potential by pooling the British and French armoury. A useful interim step would be for the Common Market countries to devise a policy for trade with the East. This would begin with agreements on credit policies towards the Eastern bloc, who would in this way find themselves obliged to come to Brussels for their negotiations.

Strauss can boast that, unless the British people refuse to fall into the trap, it is all working according to plan, even to the extent of a decision by the EEC Commission that, from 1973, all trade with the socialist countries must be negotiated centrally by the Commission in Brussels. Mr Rippon has accepted this condition and agreed that existing trade treaties will be brought into line if Britain joins. On the other hand, the socialist countries have refused to recognise the EEC as a trading entity.

It is true, and full credit must be given, that Willy Brandt broke away from the rigid confines of the Strauss-Kiesinger policy and, in negotiating the treaties with the USSR and Poland, made a significant step forward. History cannot be unwritten, and the recognition of the post-war frontiers with Poland and Czechoslovakia will stand, however long ratification of the treaties is sabotaged. Harold Wilson had the opportunity to make the breakthrough much earlier, when he and Kosygin agreed in London in 1967 that:

States with different social systems can and must co-operate in peace, observing the principles of independence and national sovereignty, equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of others and renouncing the threat of force in settling disputes between states. . . It was agreed that the encouragement of such co-operation between all countries of Eastern and Western Europe on the basis of respect for their sovereign equality and territorial integrity should continue to be the major aim of both governments.

That declaration was still-born because the British Government succumbed to West German pressure and, far from recognising the GDR, even refused to accept the post-war frontiers, or to denounce, officially and finally, the infamous Munich diktat.

The struggle for peace in Europe is thus clearly seen as against the

forces who are determined to preserve the cold-war division of our continent. They were happy enough when they could point to West Germany as the 'economic miracle' and to East Germany as poor and backward. But they fear the situation when the GDR shows faster economic growth, better social services and education and, although less luxury than the Federal Republic, certainly less poverty. They are afraid of the moves in the US to bring their troops home. Recently, according to a 'leak' in Washington, American troops carried out a practice manoeuvre for the suppression of a left-wing revolt in Spain. The Greek military regime could not live without Nato support.

When all the verbiage is removed, Tory policy is to make EEC the economic counterpart of Nato, and that is why they refuse all moves towards *détente* till they have (as they hope) bludgeoned the British people into the Common Market. When we consider Mr Stewart's record as Foreign Secretary, it is not surprising he is willing to vote with the Tories on the Common Market issue. Nor need we be surprised at the policies of Lord George Brown.

But this policy is so bankrupt that the pressure for a new effort for peace can be successful. The proposal for a European security conference has support from virtually all European countries, including some of those in Nato. The peoples in the EEC countries, not least in West Germany, are in action behind the demand. Once co-existence is accepted as the basis for peace, the way is clear for practical steps forward. Reduction of military forces, elimination of foreign bases and troops on the territory of other countries, removal of nuclear weapons and practical measures of co-operation—all these can be discussed, for everyone knows that, far from ensuring peace, the weapons that litter our continent are a constant threat of annihilation to all our countries.

And peaceful co-existence, with removal of the intolerable burden of armaments, would lead to a fuller and happier life for the peoples of all our countries west and east.

CORRECTION

Two misprints appeared in our special issue (*LM*, July 1971). Alan Bush, in whose article they occurred, wrote to say that in footnote 4 on page 325 we had 'written the title of McLuhan's book as *The Medium is the Message*, whereas the true title (if one can speak of truth in regard to this more than usually strange specimen of the Western intelligentsia) is *The Medium is the Massage*.' We understand that this mistake is all too commonly made, and are sorry to have added to the score.

On the same page the German word *beträchtliche* was mis-spelt. We apologise to Alan Bush and to our readers for both mistakes.

3. STILL NO TALKS

Ivor Montagu

‘JAW-JAW is better than War-War’ is one of the more easily remembered and succinct of Sir Winston Churchill’s sayings. Evidently his successors in charge of British diplomacy are not great believers in it—at least when there is any possibility of replacing the cold variety of war. Even Sir Winston himself was not treated very handsomely when, toward the close of his life, he seemed to repent of the policy initiated by his Fulton outburst at the side of President Truman, and desired to lead a resumption of East-West negotiations. Not only his colleagues, but even his own doctor, if we are to accept the latter’s reminiscences, took this as a sign of softening of the brain.

As for the London Foreign Office, it seems to matter little what government is nominally in charge; the moment negotiations to bring the cold war in Europe to an end are proposed they are smothered in an indigestible blanket of clotted damp wool whose verbal framework differs not one iota from Stewart to Douglas Home.

The key to it all is that the constituencies of the Western statesmen would welcome peace. For this reason, no overture from the Soviet Union can be dismissed out of hand. It is always to be welcomed, studied, proceeded with as soon as the time is ripe. Only the time is never ripe.

Actually this question of a European conference is quite an important one, with big positive possibilities inherent in the re-establishment of ‘Europe’—the real Europe, that is, as it exists in the maps taught in schools and not in the jargon of the salesmen of the Common Market whose substitute ‘Europe’ is only a trick to tie Britain into a part of it and so perpetuate the cold war. The advantages in the sphere of military saving, opening and strengthening of new markets, are rather greater—it is obvious—than the dubious tie-up with the Rome Treaty and—as the Warsaw pact countries pointed out as long ago as 1968 —‘would make it possible to jointly carry out great projects in the fields of energetics, traffic, the distribution of water, the air and public health, all of which are related to the whole continent.’ Perhaps this is why our betters are so adamant that no conference publicly drawing attention to the possibilities being turned down should beguile a generation grown up to believe that the division of Europe is a fact of nature and that tying yourself into a bundle of six is a form of expansion and not a strait-jacket.

To review the history of the rejected overtures must make angels weep. The Warsaw Pact document of March 1968, already quoted, noted that 'After the second world war the European Governments have not met once, although a large number of problems are awaiting discussion at the negotiating table.' They have still not met. The proposal, not new then (it had repeatedly been made over the years, notably by the Warsaw Pact countries in Bucharest in 1965, from Karlovy Vary in 1967 and again and again still earlier), was welcomed at once by the uncommitted. The Finnish Government at once offered Helsinki as a venue. Even among Nato states, several governments, notably France and Italy, supported it. It fell to Stewart to start the evasion process.

First, it was said that this was a trick to divide Western Europe from the US. The USSR replied that it was quite willing for the US to take part. Then that the proposed agenda did not include the subjects the West was most interested in—such as troop reductions. The USSR replied that Western countries might bring up for inclusion in the agenda anything they wanted. Then it was said the agenda was too diffuse. So the USSR said, all right, it could be limited to particular subjects, agreed in preparation. Now the agenda was too narrow. The next gambit was that the conference must be properly prepared. Obviously. So the USSR agreed and said that the preparations could begin at once. They have not begun yet.

In the second week of April the Nato Ministers met in Washington. Beforehand the *Times* (April 8, 1968) diagnosed a 'fear among the allies that an early resumption of the East-West dialogue would give the wrong impression to European public opinion, which is continually being asked to spend more on defence.' Nato decided to make no reply at all and Mr Stewart, returning, explained that the proposal had not been turned down, but that Nato must have time to think of sensible detailed matters to prepare. Now, three years later, it has still not thought of them.

Now the USSR is trying again. This time it starts with the proposal for troop reductions (since three years ago this is what the Nato spokesmen explained was the chief subject they themselves were interested in). No dice. At the same time Brezhnev offers to talk with the US about navies in non-home waters, since the 'threat' posed by the miniscule Soviet squadrons in the Mediterranean or in Asian oceans is so often being inflated into a sinister mystery.

Apparently there is nothing the West would find *less* desirable to talk about than the so-called Soviet military threats. Like neuroses, once they were examined, they might disappear. So far these proposals

have led to nothing more concrete from the West than widespread speculation on 'what these proposals could mean'. What is the 'Purpose of Moscow's Peace Offensives'? (*Times*, June 24). There has been no greater riddle since the episode, described by Honor Tracy in her book about the US occupation of Japan, of the US general's appointment of a commission of psychiatrists to investigate what the two GIs who had intercourse with two Tokyo young ladies on a public tennis court 'really wanted'. Perhaps, indeed, when the USSR proposes a conference on troop reductions it wants troop reductions, or on naval movements in foreign waters, it wants regulation of such movements. But this is not the view of Sir Alec Douglas Home expressed at this summer's Nato meeting. He 'calls for Nato caution over Russian plea on force reductions' (*Times*, June 4). 'It was tiresome to have to be cautious,' he said. (He can say *that* again.) 'On force reductions, the Russian position was not clear. The evidence of recent Soviet statements was conflicting, and it was not certain whether their recent suggestions indicated a real desire for a relaxation of tension in Europe or whether they were just trying to carry out a tactical diversion.' When this was clear, he said, then 'After that Nato should ensure that its own ideas on troop reductions were clearly defined.' (Evidently Stewart's so long ago promised studies still haven't achieved this.) A normal person might think that if the Soviet position were unclear as to purpose, to begin conversations with the USSR would be the best way to find out. But no, there was no question of this, and when, a few days later, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Tsarapkin turned up in London to explain to the Foreign Office, in words of one syllable, his visit's object was supposed to be a mystery too.

The upshot of the Nato meeting—significantly this body whose object ostensibly is to 'defend the free world' met in Lisbon where there is no freedom and where Nato arms serve only to prolong colonialist oppression in Africa—was to decide to answer nothing, do nothing, until the next meeting, next December, and then, perhaps, if progress had been made in Berlin, the matter could be looked at again.

(Informed comment on the progress of the Berlin negotiations has made it clear that the Soviet Union has offered to approve pretty well everything Berliners themselves ask for: guaranteed access routes to the Federal Republic, guarantees of visits to the GDR including East Berlin, commercial and cultural links with the Federal Republic, only *not* political and military links, as these are contrary to Potsdam inter-allied agreement, but as these are the only matters the Western

strategists and West German revanchists are interested in, these are still refusing to agree.)

The text of the Nato communiqué of June 4 is a fascinating document. Never has so little been said in so many words (nearly two thousand). It begins: 'The continuing political aim of the Atlantic Alliance is to seek peace through initiatives designed to relax tensions and to establish a just and durable peaceful order in Europe, accompanied by effective security guarantees.' It then spends column after column congratulating itself on initiatives without mentioning any.* One passage, however, records that 'In this spirit they invited the council in permanent session to continue, in the framework of its normal consultations on the international situation, its periodic review of the results achieved in all contacts and talks relative to security and co-operation in Europe, so that it could without delay take a position on the opening of multilateral talks.'

Translated from gobbledygook, this means: 'We propose to do nothing unless somebody makes us.'

Why do they act, or rather not act, so, and keep it up through the years? Why do they fear public 'jaw-jaw' with the East in the Churchill sense as the devil fears holy water? Because these self-styled paladins of democracy fear above all drawing their constituents' attention to their own true position. So long as they confine themselves to talking to themselves, and their public statements to this sort of obscurantism, then they can rely on nobody bothering about what they say. At an international conference they would be subjected to the fierce and cleansing light of day.

* I am a little unfair here. There is a paragraph (yes, indeed!): 'Ministers expressed satisfaction at the *impressive progress* achieved by the Committee on the Challenge of Modern Society, as reported by the Secretary General. They noted particularly the important contribution made by the allies to combat the pollution of the seas by oil (and what?) and to the development of road safety.' (My italics—I.M.)

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THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK LIBERATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Allen E. Silverstone*

THE rapid evolution of the struggle for Black liberation is difficult for most white progressive Americans to understand. For the British left it must seem even more complicated, since the struggle against racialism has not been central to the development of a united working class movement. What follows is a schematic characterisation of the recent developments of this rich and complex movement in the United States, and a brief discussion of some of its main features today.

Broadly, there have been two major tendencies pervading the struggles of coloured peoples in the United States. One is a separatist theme which emphasises the national character of Black people and proposes nationalist solutions (e.g., the Garvey movement of the 1920s which demanded land in Africa, or the Black Muslim movement of today which demands territory in the US). This tendency generally ignores the necessity of building broad alliances. The other tendency has been somewhat inaccurately characterised as 'integrationist' and generally manifests itself as a struggle for 'equality of opportunity' for Blacks and whites within the framework of American capitalism, and which concentrates on ending racial oppression in political, social and economic life. This approach is generally justified by the fact that Black citizens have contributed greatly to creating the wealth of the United States, but, because of exploitation and apartheid-like super-exploitation (after outright slavery), have been denied any benefits from this wealth.

Historically these tendencies have intertwined through all organisations and stages of political movement in the Black liberation struggle. One trend or another has predominated depending on the political potentials of alliance with whites at any given moment. That is, when there are strong possibilities of unity, both because of identical demands and a willingness to work together, the second approach predominates. When disunity is created by racist propaganda and selective concessions by the ruling class, then the separatist trend predominates.

* Allen Silverstone at present holds a postdoctorate fellowship in molecular biology at Edinburgh University; his main activities in the United States have been in the freedom and peace movements.

Until 1964 the world was aware chiefly of the integrationist theme in the form of the Black struggle for civil rights. The bus boycotts, the sit-ins and the freedom rides were directed at the right of equal access to public and corporate facilities. This struggle culminated in the great drive to guarantee Black suffrage in the American South. Around these struggles a coalition was formed ranging from moderate Catholics to liberal Senators to the most militant Black student youth. However, the quantitative changes associated with a toppling of racist laws and the mobilisation of increasing numbers of Black people, North and South, led to a qualitative change in the movement.

Increasingly Black people realised that although they had the right to use these public facilities by law, they could not afford them. Furthermore, the structure of society was such that economic security was more difficult for a Black person to achieve. The ensuing demands for an end to economically based segregation were too direct a threat to the capitalist system itself. Thus, the ruling class began to conjure up a 'white backlash', and cautioned Black leaders to 'go-slow'. But the masses had been mobilised and they would not go slow.

From 1964 to 1967 every major city in the United States had a riot that resulted in hundreds of casualties and millions of pounds of damage to private property¹.

Although the particular trigger for these riots was police brutality, the driving force was the demand for an end to the super-exploitation characterising Black economic life². Although these explosions ran far ahead of organisation or ideology, Malcolm X was certainly prominent in giving a 'Black power' character to this force in the huge Black communities of the North.

A second decisive element in the changing character of the movement was the exposure of the limits of the liberal concessions to the struggle for suffrage. After organising in defiance of terror and murder for several years, a 'freedom election' was conducted in Mississippi in 1964. The delegates, elected by more than 100,000 Black eligible citizens, demanded seats at the Democratic National Convention in place of the racist elected Mississippi delegation. Lyndon Johnson would accept only that a token concession be made to this demand, or he would not take Hubert Humphrey as his running mate. All the allies of the Black liberation movement, except the most

¹ Hobsbawm, Eric. *LM*, September 1967. Description and discussion of the Detroit riots.

² Report of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Civil Rights: *Crisis in Black and White*: Bantam Books, 1967. Gives a statistical analysis of the effects of super-exploitation in wages, health, education, housing, etc.

radical, urged this compromise be accepted. When the Black liberation forces refused to sell out, the old coalition irreparably fractured.

During the late 1960s, the Black liberation movement became increasingly anti-capitalist. Initially, there was a predominantly isolationist approach which concentrated solely on the organisation of 'Black Power' and ignored or even attacked the possibilities of a new kind of alliance or unity. For Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton³ Black power meant a combination of Black capitalism as a foundation for a nationalist political movement. While American capitalism has dealt a rather fatal blow to such ideas, and while President Nixon seems to be the last faithful supporter of such ideas, aspects of the programme have been transformed into today's context. For example the 'Black Manifesto Movement' under the leadership of James Foreman (the founder and Executive Secretary of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee—SNCC) has been collecting great sums of money from churches, businesses and trade unions and using this money to finance 'Black Institutions', primarily those that will serve as political and ideological moulders for Black liberation (newspapers, political campaigns, health centres).

The Black Panther Party (founded in 1966) has taken a very different sort of approach. Although they do call for a plebiscite for Black people as a national group, to determine their own destiny, they have attacked both 'Black capitalism' and 'cultural nationalism' as reactionary, and demanded that Black people should have the choice to share fully in the wealth of American society. The Panther approach seeks to present anti-capitalist alternatives to people in their everyday lives. They not only organise to protect people in the community directly from police brutality, but they also organise free breakfast programmes, free health clinics and free clothing schemes.

As the economic crisis created by the Vietnam war and the warfare state began to affect all aspects of American life, the Black liberation movement took an increasingly public anti-war stance. Such a position was linked to a necessary reordering of American priorities if Black people were not to become the victims of genocide by starvation and unemployment. Objectively a basis existed for an alliance of the peace and Black liberation movements, and in the past year this seems to have assumed an organisational form. Such mass organisations as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC—the group originally led by Martin Luther King, and now by Ralph Abernathy) have joined with the National Welfare Rights

³ Carmichael, Stokely and Charles Hamilton: *Black Power*.

Organisation (a mass organisation of Black and white people on welfare, primarily under Black leadership) and various peace groups to form the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. The Coalition is fighting for an immediate end to the war, and for a reordering of national priorities, beginning with addressing the crisis of the poor and oppressed in America.

The SCLC campaigns in most major Northern cities. Its 'Operation Breadbasket' in Chicago is the largest mass democratic organisation in the city, and it has won thousands of jobs for Black unemployed, improved welfare facilities and mobilised people for mass marches and demonstrations that have shaken Mayor Daley's power structure.

The ruling class has recognised the threat that an alliance of the Black liberation movement with other forces in society poses. It should be noted that Malcolm X was killed in 1965 just when he began talking of the need for unity of Black and white workers. Martin Luther King was killed in 1968 when he began to lead his organisation into struggle for trade unionisation of the Memphis sanitation workers (that is, when the SCLC began to organise the poorest black and white workers into trade unions). The Black Panther Party was attacked by local and federal authorities when they began to advance a socialist perspective for the Black liberation movement.

In response to these attacks, the Panthers made alliances with white radical groupings and, in the summer of 1969, they called a 'United Front Against Fascism Conference'. Although the immediate organisational aims of the conference were not realised, it did spark off a mass national anti-repression movement which created new opportunities for Black and white unity. In response, the police killed and jailed many more Panthers, but the resistance has grown until Bobby Seale, Erica Huggins and the New York Panthers have all been freed of conspiracy and criminal charges. The anti-repression movement has created a context in which juries can be found that will no longer accept the McCarthyite attempt to convict someone of a crime because they hold certain political views. Thus there has emerged a movement to free 'all political prisoners', foremost of whom is Angela Davis⁴.

When the reactionaries who administer the state of California couldn't take away Angela Davis's job because of mass movements supporting her right to teach, they then framed her for murder. The chief evidence to be offered against her is her membership of the

⁴ *Angela Davis*, pamphlet of the National Student Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Communist Party, and her belief that only socialism guarantees a just society and Black liberation. As Angela Davis herself has pointed out⁵:

More and more Black people are being incarcerated not because they committed a crime, but because of their political beliefs and the activities they undertake to bring our people together to struggle for freedom. Counterfeit charges are invented; outright frame-ups are increasingly becoming the rule.

I am a political prisoner. The government intends to silence me, to prohibit me from further organising my people. . . Political prisoners are set up as examples to the rest of the people. . . The Government intends to terrorise our people by railroading us into the electric chair and long prison terms. There is only one way political prisoners can be liberated. Millions of people must serve notice to the Government that they intend to use every weapon at their disposal to secure the freedom of their captive warriors and, eventually, to secure the total liberation of Black people.

Although the two tendencies of the Black liberation struggle have created problems today for the Black Panther Party, the mass upsurge continues to produce new forms and developments almost every month. The emergence of a Black Congressional caucus which acts as a parliamentary tribune for the movement, the organisation of Black mayors, the appearance of Afro-American Patrolmen's Leagues (organisations of Black police that often follow up charges of police brutality in the Black community) all give optimism to the prospects for political advance toward Black liberation in the United States today.

⁵ Interview with Angela Davis: Reprinted in the *Morning Star*.

THEATRE

'In Place of Strife'

F. N.

Unity Theatre's current 'In Place of Strife' (which closes Sunday, August 9) depicts the first shop steward on trial under the Industrial Relations Bill-become-law. In his defence, he calls witnesses from trade union history: George Loveless of Tolpuddle, Bryant & May's matchgirls, Ben Tillett and John Burns, Taff Vale railwaymen, Betteshanger miners, Rooks and Barnard, and finally Mrs Castle, Mr Carr and Lord Donovan. All of the cast performed well, to an almost empty house, with the shop steward and the court usher particularly well charac-

terised. Phil Woods's script was less successful. Abbreviated, and spoken by large cartoon figures, it might make effective street theatre. On the picture-frame stage it did not come to life till the final episodes. It argues, impeccably, that trade unionists have faced repression before; less credibly, that the bill will be self-defeating because it will aggravate disputes trade unions would have solved. In the Rooks v. Barnard episode there was dramatic tension, with in effect sympathetic treatment of the anti-union draughtsman. The Donovan-Castle-Carr debate was confusing, but if any point emerged it was that Mrs Castle's bill was less bad than Mr Carr's, though both should have followed Lord Donovan's advice.

BOOKS

My Three Revolutions

M. Philips Price

Allen & Unwin, 310 pp., £3.15

A SPECIAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT is due to Philips Price from this journal for his invaluable role and co-operation in its formative earliest years. At the same time a general acknowledgement is due to him from the entire English-speaking progressive movement for his unique achievement, backed by the courageous editorship of C. P. Scott, in breaking through the web of lies and slander and suppression, and giving in the *Manchester Guardian* the first truthful reports in the non-socialist press of the Russian revolution, written from the spot in the heat and turmoil of daily moving events, with close insight and sympathetic understanding. These dispatches of Philips Price from 1917 to 1919 not only recorded history, but helped to make it.

Although he has since modified his political outlook in a number of respects, as the later portions of this book show, it remains all the more to his credit that he not only reprints some of the key passages of these reports but declares in the Preface of 1969, with regard to the influence of the revolution on his thinking at that time:

'Being an actual eye-witness of the revolution and looking down into the furnace, my whole method of thinking was for a time changed. I see things in a longer perspective now, but if I had to live my time again I would not do otherwise than I did then.'

Price had the advantage of prior knowledge of Tsarist Russia from his visits in 1908 and 1910. His analysis of the class forces of the revolution made abundantly clear

why the Kerenskys and the Milukovs, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, tied to the Western powers and the war, and unready to give the peasantry the land, could not but fail in contrast to the Bolsheviks who alone represented the demands of the masses of the people. As he wrote in his dispatch of November 19, 1917: 'The Government of Kerensky fell before the Bolshevik insurgents because it had no supporters in the country.' He showed how it was the Western military intervention and the White Terror which gave rise to the phase of the Red Terror. In face of the Western military intervention and support of counter-revolution he found it impossible to be neutral. 'In this dispatch I was abandoning objectivity because it was now almost impossible to be objective. I was on a knife edge and had to come down on one side or the other.'

After Russia, Price was in Germany from the end of 1919 to 1923 as the correspondent of the *Daily Herald*. This represents the second of the 'Three Revolutions' in his book. Here his reporting powerfully exposed the reactionary reality behind the facade of the 'freest democracy in the world' of the Weimar Republic; the continuing domination of the forces of militarism and reaction which had flourished under Bismarck and the Kaiser, and which continued to operate after the 1918 revolution. This exposure was all the more important at the time because so many on the left were confused by their feelings of guilt over the Versailles Treaty into failing to recognise the new menace that was arising in Germany. But his reporting here was marred by his extreme hostility to the role of the Soviet Union and of the German Communists.

In part III of this book he comes

to the third of his 'Three Revolutions', which he describes as 'The British Revolution' since 1945. Here his outlook becomes more conventional, as he describes the familiar picture of 'a more equitable social structure by the greater equalisation of incomes'; 'no longer the great differences between rich and poor that there used to be'; 'the welfare state'; 'the social revolution that has occurred in this country', though 'much still remains to be done'. He deplores the 'conservatism among the trade unions' and praises the 'courage' of the Wilson Government. History will pronounce its verdict on this conception of the peaceful 'social revolution' accomplished by the Labour Governments since 1945. Indeed, the official Labour Party pamphlet, *Labour's Economic Strategy*, published in 1969, already gave a preliminary verdict when it declared: 'Britain remains a society in which there are very sharp divisions of wealth and income . . . the extreme concentration of wealth has changed little over the past twenty years . . . Britain's progressive tax system is largely a myth.' The present offensive of the Tory Government is giving occasion for many socialists and wide sections of the labour movement to give further thought to the real character of a revolutionary change of class society.

The publishers' readers have done less than justice to Price in leaving uncorrected so many slips in references to names and dates. Schlageter appears as Schlagete; Ben Tillett as Tillet; Liebknecht appears in one context as 'Liebgnecht and Rosa Luxemburg', and, lest this might be thought a mere misprint, the zealous indexer has solemnly provided separate entries for Liebknecht and for Liebgnecht. The British 'revolution of 1680' is presumably a reference to 1688.

A dramatic passage recalls a 'Waterloo Ball' which he was giving in his country house in Gloucestershire on the eve of the First World War; how 'towards midnight, some officer guests did come to me to say that they had received a message by telephone recalling them to their regiments next day. In the course of the evening Russia had ordered general mobilisation, being the first Great Power to do so, and a German ultimatum to Russia to stop mobilisation was expected next day. All the same, many of our guests stayed on till three in the morning, and I remember that the last number that the band played was "All Aboard for Dixieland". Next day we were at War.' It is a shame to tarnish this dramatic picture with the cold facts that Russia ordered general mobilisation on July 30, the German ultimatum was on July 31, and Britain declared war on Germany on August 4.

Nevertheless, after all allowance is made for weaknesses in the latter parts of the book, honour must be paid to the author for his permanent historical service to the revolution by his truthful reporting of the Russian revolution during its most critical years, and also for his present service in reprinting in this book some of the essential passages of those reports and standing by them.

R.P.D.

The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology

Alvin W. Gouldner

Heinemann, 528 pp., £3.75

THIS IS PART of a work that Professor Gouldner, Max Weber Research Professor of Social Theory at Washington University, has been engaged on for twenty years. The core of the book is an analysis of the two great streams of sociological thought that flow from Comte and Marx down to modern

academic sociology and Marxism. Much of this is stimulating though there are lengthy passages of tedious repetition. Sociologists in both these streams have accepted roles as functionalists serving the needs of their establishments for social order and restraint, and yet they are unable to accept that what is powerful in their society is good. Gouldner has long conducted a battle against the willingness of his colleagues to sell themselves to perform tasks they know to be morally wrong. He now appeals to them to redeem themselves by joining him in what he calls 'reflexive sociology'—a discipline in which the sociologist is aware of the social world closest to him. This is argued with great passion and at times reads rather like the prospectus for a new order of sociological monks. Here the diagnosis of what is wrong with academic sociology falls far short of the incisiveness, for example, of the analysis of the current state of academic economics in *The Dissenting Academy*, edited by T. Roszak.

One of the most interesting sections of the book is the account of the position of sociology in Eastern Europe, based on a extensive visit there in 1965-66. This was at the end of a decade of rapid development from almost nothing to the establishment of a number of research institutes of hastily assembled cadres drawn from neighbouring disciplines. The extensive use by them of texts and techniques drawn from the US gave the impression that Soviet concrete sociological research was the same kind of thing as American empirical sociological research. One may judge how wrong this impression was by the frank account of the position of sociology in the Soviet Union given in *Sociology*, by G. Osipov, available from Central Books.

M. HOOKHAM

Society, Schools and Humanity

Douglas Holly

MacGibbon & Kee, 158 pp., £1.90.

DOUGLAS HOLLY's book is a stimulating contribution to the turmoil that is present day British education. If I were to be very critical I would ask the questions 'How does a writer devoting a chapter to "Alienation and the Educative Process" fail to connect the upheaval of the teaching profession in the winter of 1969-70, when 150,000 teachers were involved in the first ever national teachers' strike, with the deep questioning of many aspects of education proceeding apace today?'; 'To what extent has Margaret Thatcher's encouragement to local education authorities to slow down secondary reorganisation (DES circular 10/70) been a recognition of the Tory Government's understanding that the development of full comprehensive education, will accelerate the drive towards more fundamental change in our society?' These are perhaps questions for other writers to tackle, but meanwhile Holly's book takes his readers deep into a number of issues which would reward many teachers, parents and trade unionists who are searching for an explanation for many of the changes taking place in schools today.

The book deals in some detail with the thinking behind the terminology of secondary education and maintains the interest of its readers by such sentences as 'The English public school is of course influential precisely because it is not public. In the peculiar semantics of English education, double-think appears to be the norm'. The chapter on 'Change in the Classroom' refreshingly underlines the fact that reactionary ideas and inertia are on the defensive and that an increasingly large section of teachers and pupils are questioning the 'rat-race' society. He is rightly critical

of present day sociology of education in Britain because it does not delve into the 'dialectical complexity' of secondary school development. His chapter on 'Education as the Realisation of Humanity' clearly shows that the action and interaction of human beings are intrinsic to human development. Non-alienated education is social and creates the conditions for the full flowering of our children and simultaneously creates the individual who will question and then change his alienating environment. His final chapters on 'The World Outside: Parents and Community' and 'Limits of Autonomy' remind us that the encapsulation of a school has its negative aspect and carries a strong argument for closer liaison with parents and in particular with working class parents.

J. FINCH

The Manchester Martyrs

Paul Rose

Lawrence & Wishart, 144 pp., £1.25

ON NOVEMBER 23, 1867, three Irishmen, William Philip Allen, Michael Larkin and Michael O'Brien, were hanged outside Salford Gaol. Ever since, they have been known amongst Irish people as the 'Manchester Martyrs', and one of the many ballads promises 'to keep the memory ever green of the boys who smashed the van.' In September of that year two Fenian leaders were arrested in Manchester. As they were being taken to Belle Vue Gaol in a prison van a successful rescue was organised, in the course of which a police sergeant was killed by a bullet fired to break the lock. There was a large round-up of Irishmen and three were selected to pay the price.

The story of these events is well known, especially in Ireland. The author has therefore attempted to highlight some specific issues. His description of the trial is most useful.

He is mainly concerned, however, to show the connection between the Irish national movement and the working class movement of this country. Thus he writes: 'That the radical movement in Britain came to the aid of the prisoners and that considerable sympathy was expressed by the more politically conscious working class organisations is a side of the episode which has often been sadly overlooked by many Irish Nationalist commentators. This narrative seeks to show the bond of sympathy which has united many Englishmen with the cause of national independence in Ireland.' The International Working Men's Association, under the influence of Marx, campaigned to save the doomed men. Paul Rose refers to a meeting held at Clerkenwell Green on November 21, which presented a memorial to the Queen on behalf of the Fenian prisoners. It was estimated that 20,000-25,000 took part. We are also reminded that the three were defended in court by the Chartist leader Ernest Jones.

The publication of this material is timely. The struggle for 'Ireland one, and Ireland free' has again hit the headlines and has become an issue in Britain. By studying the relationship between the struggles of our two peoples in the past, we can contribute to greater unity today. In places the book shows signs of having been written by one leading an active parliamentary life. Fintan Lalor is mentioned when Michael Davitt is meant (page 69), and on page 121 O'Connell appears when presumably Feargus O'Connor is intended. But these are minor points. Paul Rose is one of those of whom he writes—an Englishman whose sympathy and support is with Ireland's struggle for freedom. This comes across on every page and is a welcome sign of the times.

SEAN REDMOND

First Decrees of Soviet Power

Edited by Yuri Akhapiin

Lawrence & Wishart, 186 pp., £3

IN THE SPRING of 1918 little booklets, poorly printed on grey paper, began to enter Britain, by post from Sweden or sometimes in seamen's chests. They each contained a few of the Soviet decrees adopted in the first days after the October revolution, hastily translated into English. And they did good work in the 'Hands Off Russia!' campaign. The present handsome volume, with its 64 major decrees covering the months from November 1917 to July 1918, presents a striking contrast. It also provides answers to some of the lies and insinuations about the revolution once again pouring abundantly from the sewers of Fleet Street and elsewhere.

A.R.

Radical Squibs and Loyal Ripostes

Selected and annotated by Edgell Rickword

Adams & Dart, 320 pp., £2.50

DURING THE YEARS 1819-22 a 'pamphlet war' was waged between the radical William Hone and the Establishment, and it stands out as a lively and entertaining episode in the arena of political controversy. Hone was an exceptionally skilful satirist, and with the aid of the superb caricatures of George Cruikshank, his pamphlets became the source of immense amusement to the public, and of great embarrassment to the government of his day. Mr Rickword has selected ten of these now very rare pamphlets, which are reproduced here in facsimile, and in which, of the total of over 100 illustrations, 70 are engravings by Cruikshank.

J.R.

CORRESPONDENCE:**Wages and Inflation**

OUR CANADIAN reader (Lewis Agassiz, *LM*, June 1971) has certainly spotlighted a significant factor, one that we have carelessly overlooked in the general struggle against monopoly capitalism. Monopoly capitalism will not always pass on wage increase/costs into retail prices, for the reason that market or political conditions at that time may prohibit such a step, but you can rest assured as soon as it is opportune it will be done. Competition within, and the anarchy of market conditions, necessitate the constant drive for the maximum profit margins. This latter factor and Keynesian financial techniques employed by all Western capitalist governments are currently creating what may be a disastrous and inflationary situation. However, we would be fools if we believed that our working force see the

causes of inflation as understood by Marxists. A very large section of them see it as it is superficially and incorrectly sloganised in the capitalist dailies and so-called serious weeklies. 'What's the purpose of going on strike for a wage increase when it's gobbled up in prices in a matter of months?' The workers have experienced this for so long that they are frustrated and confused, and you cannot quote as an alternative the pricing policies of our nationalised industries, for they are geared to serve the dominant private sector and therefore behave as their masters do. The prevalence and acceptance of this capitalist economic argument—prices follow wages—is so extensive among those who are not engaged or involved in struggle that it is extremely dangerous. The trade unions need to draw themselves ever closer to the people, therefore. They should provide a means for an

(continued inside back cover)

JUBILEE ATTRACTION

IT was wonderful to see so many of *Labour Monthly's* readers at the Golden Jubilee celebration in June. The Committee responsible for organising the event gave us just the right balance of formality and informality. I met for the first time one of *LM's* oldest fund supporters and he was quite evidently enjoying the occasion and the opportunity to meet our Editor and other guests.

Another supporter arrived in good time for the start of proceedings because he wanted to donate a wrist watch to be auctioned during the evening. However, the Committee had arranged the programme so tightly that there was no opportunity to include this extra money-raising episode, so the watch is now in *LM's* office and we shall gladly send it to whoever makes us the best offer.

It is: Swiss made, 17 jewels, shock-protected, anti-magnetic, chrome with a leather strap, in a presentation box—a Transglobe 901 man's watch. Would any reader like to offer about £5 or perhaps a little more to help our funds along in this Jubilee year?

Another Golden Jubilee attraction, the printed *Souvenir*, had a good sale on the evening of the celebration and is still available for readers who want to have the Committee's beautifully presented publication as a lasting reminder of fifty years of struggle (see page 353).

In our July issue I mentioned the extra sales of the May *LM* at the Draughtsmen's and Co-op Union conferences. We have since had reports of sales of that same number at two section conferences of the AUEW: the Foundry Workers (8 copies sold) and the Constructional Engineers (28 sold). The June issue did well at the Furniture Workers' conference (16 sold) and with the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs (25 sold and other reports still to come). The July special issue was on sale at the Torquay run of Engineering conferences and the first seller to get news to us has sold 10—all the copies he had. At the Transport and General Workers' Union and at the National Union of Mineworkers conferences we had sales of 11 and 20 copies, respectively. We are sure all readers will join us in thanking these volunteer sellers. **Nicola Seyd**

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REGULAR DONATIONS came from: 'Oliver Twist', 50p; M. Morgan, 25p; B. D. Youatt, £1; H. Brindle, 25p; J. and K. Kokos, 25p; J. Rink, 25p; John and Jenny Pinkerton, 50p; 'Scarlet Ribbons', £5; E. Strachan Rogers, £1.05; Les Bates, 25p; Blackburn Branch, 15p; Oldham Branch, 10p; Mr and Mrs Guinan, 25p; S. Morrissey, 50p; W. E. Rounce, 75p; D. Belenson, £1; P. W. Ladkin, 50p; Southend Branch, £2; A. Corbett, £1; Len Potter, £2; R.F.B., £3; R. Paul, 50p; Mrs E. Sheldon, £1; L. and S. Perkins, 25p; L'Humanité, 30p; M. Philibert, 25p; 'Pax', 25p; 'Pitchfork Ben', 30p; B. Ainley, £1; M. Bell, £2; J. Purton, 37p; I. McIntyre, £2; W. Laithwaite, £5; 'Socialist Sailor', £2; T.E.A. Southern, £3; W.R. (USA), £4.58; J.D. (Canada), 74p; A.M.T. (for Fernando and Guilherme), 5p.

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exchange of information and policy-making between them and consumer associations. The trade unions should encourage and where possible set up industrial consumer associations. In the railways we have Railway Development Associations who have done excellent work in drawing up plans for improving our industry's services and fighting branch closures, and are now, I believe, looking at the benefits of railways in relation to our environmental problems. They have meetings

with management on specific issues, but alarmingly they have the greatest difficulty in obtaining meetings with trade union branches and district councils. Everyone is so busy. Nevertheless, here we have the basis for a sound trade union/consumer relationship that could extend the range of the Development Associations' activities to include the all important one of 'pricing policy'.

J. SCANLAN
Glasgow

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution, C. Desmond Greaves. Lawrence & Wishart, 416 pp., £4.

The Origins of Polish Socialism, Lucjan Blit. Cambridge University Press, 160 pp., £3.

Documents of Liberty, Henry Marsh. David & Charles, 224 pp., £2.50.

The Soviet General Staff at War, S. M. Shtemenko. Progress Publishers (Central Books), 398 pp., £1.25.

The Memoirs of Marshal Zhukov, Marshal Zhukov. Jonathan Cape, 704 pp., £6.

The Theory of the Leisure Class, Thorstein Veblen. Unwin, 262 pp., 75p.

Inflation and Unemployment, Labour Research Department, 20 pp., 10p.

Apartheid Axis, William J. Pomeroy. International Publishers (Central Books), 96 pp., 60p.

Unite Against Racism, Joan Bellamy. Communist Party, 12 pp., 4p.

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